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121
114 Herskovits and Johnson were not the only advisors chosen by the *Drums and Shadows* team. Among other outside consultants were the anthropologist William R. Bascom, the sociologist Charles S. Johnson, the folklorist Newbell Niles Puckett, the linguist Lorenzo Dow Turner, and the poet Sterling Brown. Three of the consultants—Johnson, Turner, and Brown—were black. Brown was perhaps the most influential upon the Savannah Unit. In his poetry he had already moved away from the pseudo-folk persona of the minstrel-show tradition to an authentic black folk voice. Perhaps the more literary orientation of the Savannah Unit gave Brown greater influence upon them than the social scientists could exert. The Georgia fieldworkers would have been familiar with a tradition in Afro-American literature that extolled—however equivocally—the African inheritance. Alain Locke had spoken ambivalently in 1925 of black Americans as "the advance guard of the African peoples in their contact with Twentieth Century civilization." In the same year Countee Cullen's poem "Heritage" proposed that a black God would better understand the Afro-American's roots in Africa and anomalous position in America. Even earlier, in 1921, Langston Hughes had published a Whitmanesque identification with his African ancestors:

> I bathed in the Euphrates when dawns were young.
> I built my hut near the Congo and it lulled me to sleep.
> I looked upon the Nile and raised the pyramids above it.
> . . . . . .
> My soul has grown deep like the rivers.

126 Muriel and Malcolm Bell, photographers for *Drums and Shadows*, were inspired by their literary reference point to see Robert Lucas, whom they photographed at St. Marys, in the context of Richard Wright's Bigger Thomas. And they saw Katie Brown in the context of William Faulkner's Dilsey.[20]

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INTRODUCTION

121 Sterling Brown insisted that "half truth is not enough, however picturesque." He urged fieldworkers to avoid taking white southern opinion as the arbiter of authenticity in black southern folklore. If, on the other hand, the accounts were genuine, if they went beyond a simplistic and misleading treatment of serious sociological issues, then as a result both blacks and whites could lay down the burden that stereotypes had put upon them. That, he believed, could ultimately bring about a revitalization of American culture."

Perhaps neither the consultants nor the national officials were completely happy with *Drums and Shadows*. Like many pioneering efforts, it picked its way cautiously through underbrush and thickets that obscured what lay ahead. The Savannah fieldworkers could see where they had come from more clearly than where they were going. Unlike Herskovits's 121 *Myth of the Negro Past*, which propounded theories of retention, reinterpretation, and syncretism, *Drums and Shadows* 128 eschews analysis. Seventy African parallels are cited and documented in the appendix, but the book ignores European parallels and the influence of culture contact. "Though European parallels could be cited for many of the cultural patterns," Mary Granger acknowledges, "the citations in the appendix have been limited to African material both because the European material is better known and because the African parallels suggest interesting lines of investigation." In his foreword Guy B. Johnson emphasizes that *Drums and Shadows* "wisely refrained from attempting to include an investigation of subjects like folk music and dialect, which require special training and technical analysis." Perhaps because of having eschewed such analysis, *Drums and Shadows* seems fresher nearly half a century later than the theoretical works of the period. Scholars now recognize that coastal [192] blacks of Georgia and South Carolina developed a creole lan- [126] guage that played a crucial role in shaping a creole culture. If the Savannah fieldworkers mistakenly considered their infor-

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mants to be speaking in "dialect," in contrast to speaking "correctly," they nevertheless render that speech so accurately that scholars can reconstruct the grammatical rules of the creole language as spoken in coastal Georgia. Furthermore, the Savannah fieldworkers make a determined effort to note generational and educational differences in speech and to demonstrate such sociolinguistic features as code-switching ("excitement or emotion often throws the speaker back into a type of speech which ordinarily he no longer uses"). In the pages of *Drums and Shadows* modern readers can find the (197) evidence to support a far more sophisticated understanding of the creolization of Afro-American culture than those put forward by Phillips, or Park, or even Herskovits."

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(126)
LOOK AT THE PICTURES. Among the notable features of *Drums and Shadows* is a series of sensitive and evocative photographs by Muriel and Malcolm Bell, Jr. These pictures transcend mere illustration; they are, in fact, a scholarly photographic essay. In the original publication the photographs followed the text almost as an afterthought. For this Brown Thrasher edition new prints have been made from the original negatives. Some additional photographs made for the original project but not published in the first edition are now included. The photographs have been printed and their sequence organized under the supervision of Muriel and Malcolm Bell for this edition, and the photographic essay is now printed where it should be—at the beginning. It is an essay that amplifies and comments on the life of these people visually, an essay that says things about their culture that cannot be said in words.

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Look at the faces of these people of coastal Georgia. Look at the way they sit or stand. Look at their houses and their surroundings. Listen to their voices. In these pictures and in these words a portrait emerges: a portrait of a certain time and place, a portrait of an important part of southern culture.

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Photographers' Note

121 •126 LANDSCAPES AND NATURAL HISTORY PROVIDED SUBJECT matter for our start into what we thought for a time would lead to careers in professional photography. The first serious project was a series of pictures of Savannah houses and buildings for a history of the city's architecture, a venture that was inadvertently put aside. We had our own darkroom, in which we did our developing and printing. We used a German-made Eastman Kodak, a 2¼ × 3¼–inch ground glass camera called a Recomar. A sturdy tripod and a large black cloth enabled us to stop the lens down to its limit of f/32 and to bring forth a sharp image on the inverted glass screen. The stationary subject permitted ample time to compose our picture; first one of us, then the other made the necessary adjustments from under the black cloth. It was always an interesting maneuver and one that stood us in good stead when we came to the *Drums and Shadows* project.

Mary Granger, our older and interesting family friend, was the unquestioned leader of the Savannah section of the "writers" who were trying to break the depression's grip through the Work Projects Administration of the federal government. It was as district supervisor of the Savannah unit of the Georgia Writers' Project that she told us of her proposed study of African cultural survivals she believed to be extant along the Georgia coast. We were interested and from the outset believed we could photograph coastal blacks using the same technique we had found successful on Savannah architecture. We had seen the Julia Peterkin–Doris Ulmann

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collaboration, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, and resolved that our photographs of the Negroes would be as sharply focused as had been our Savannah houses. The soft focus of the Ulmann portraits was not to our liking, nor was the poor quality of their reproduction. Ulmann's remarkable ability to capture an attitude and to reflect her subject's character we hoped to emulate. We soon learned that to photograph a person, particularly a child, was far removed from making a portrait of an eighteenth- or nineteenth-century building.

Our picture-taking expeditions were always led by Mary Granger. If our subjects were to be close by Savannah she would have made arrangements with friends or with members of her staff who conducted earlier interviews. The usual procedure was for our leader to engage the subjects in conversation at a spot we had chosen with an eye to light and background. The camera on the tripod and the black cloth that we were forever ducking under to focus and compose invariably provoked their interest and usually put them at ease. Mary Granger's confident and cheerful demeanor and her good sense of humor accounted for the bright, responsive expressions that show on the faces of many of the older people. She questioned as she talked, made notes on interesting responses, and often would chant the African song "Kum Baba Yano," which she had learned from old Tony Delegal. This never failed to bring a look of incredulity to the faces of our subjects.

On the island trips and those to distant and remote areas our arrival was unannounced. Mary Granger was always ready to reward cooperative subjects or to persuade reluctant ones to be photographed with an offer of sweet rolls, tobacco, or old but serviceable clothes, all of which Miss Granger seemed to have in endless supply.

The *Drums and Shadows* photographs have appeared in any number of publications, the artifacts and the Bowen grave markers more frequently than the portraits. The latter,

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PHOTOGRAPHERS' NOTE

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128 particularly those of Katie Brown, Shad Hall, the young girl at Pin Point, and old Jim Myers, have been used in numerous photographic exhibits in Savannah and elsewhere. When Katie Brown's likeness was on display in a Savannah bank, one of the employees recognized her as a much-loved grandmother. The incident prompted a gathering of members of the Brown descendants—schoolteachers, principals, postal workers, young and old, sons, daughters, grand- and great-grandchildren.

Our contract with the federal government permitted the use of twenty-five of our photographs. We retained the ownership of the negatives and of the rights to reproduce. We were paid two dollars for each print. Most of the reproductions used in this new edition of *Drums and Shadows* were made from the old negatives by Savannahian Jack Leigh, a sensitive and understanding technician and a very able photographer.

The *Drums and Shadows* project became a meaningful episode in our lives. The simple dignity, the presence and pride of the people we photographed won from us lasting respect.

MURIEL BARROW BELL
MALCOLM BELL, JR.

Savannah, 1986

[p. xxxii is blank]

2: Jones-Jackson L-5 (1973-1986) 1987
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159 they give the audience an opportunity to become an active participant
533 in the telling event. Some Sea Island informants who knew many kinds
538 of tales often included songs and thus encouraged the audience to participate in singing the chorus. Many of those who did not know the words to the chorus participated by clapping their hands, patting their feet, or humming along with those who were singing. The Sea Island tales with songs were far more exciting in eliciting a wide response from the audience than those without songs.

159 Though Miss Deeley is most noted for telling tales of bizarre hap-
538 penings and supernatural events, I found that the children who were left in her care seemed to remember the words and melodies to the songs in the tales much better than they remembered the unusual events (see "The Three Pear[s]"). This woman's vast repertoire of tales, like her knowledge about various medicinal cures, is perhaps a result of her having given birth to thirteen children, twelve of whom are living. She told me that telling them stories helped keep them occupied and out of trouble. In addition, some of the older children used the same tales and techniques to keep the younger ones amused. Now that most of her own children are grown, she continues the storytelling tradition with the grandchildren and great-grandchildren left in her care. Furthermore, while she does indeed believe in modern medicine, she says she
159 finds that most of the ailments that she and her family have suffered
791 could be cured or helped by various roots that she found on the islands. The most popular of these is the bloodroot, which when boiled makes a reddish tea and is exceptionally good for high blood pressure. The snakeroot, which must be boiled and permitted to stand or age with good whiskey, is very useful for increasing the appetite and eliminating constipation.

159 Though Miss Deeley would not consent to being recorded, she was
126 patient enough to permit me to take down one story ("The Three
538 Pear[s]") verbatim. This tale represents her language well.

159 *Mr. Jonas Mickell* became a close friend over a period of years, and I am indebted much to him and his wife for the time and effort they took to help contribute to this and other studies. Mr. Mickell is a well-respected man in his community. He traveled much around the islands by boat in his day and thus always had stories to tell of his adventures. He is sixty or more years old and says that he was somewhat "sporty" with the ladies before he was married, some forty years ago, to his

2: Jones-Jackson L-5 (1973-1986) 1987
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589 And then, Lord *Then Lord!*

I will go home and get
My just resolve[21] *Oh yeah!*

For all that I have done *Done!*

And then, Lord *My Lord*

Want you to meet me, Jesus
Somewhere, Lord, Job declare *Oh yeah!*

The wicked must cease in trouble *Trouble!*

And my soul have rest[22] *Rest*

'Tis thy servant's prayer, Master!

Amen. *Amen! Amen! Yeah! Yeah sir! All right!*

115 126 Mr. Mike Simmons was well into his nineties when Miss Myma introduced me to him and his wife (he has since died). He sat in the doorway of his two-room shanty and tolerated a seven-day linguistic procedure. I collected a phoneme inventory from him by asking him to pronounce nearly three hundred words. The task is slow and exacting; sometimes his wife, in her late eighties, would call out from the kitchen and offer a variant way in which a word could be pronounced. This was a lovely couple.

[533] [782] When Mr. Mike tired of the procedure, he would look out over the grassy field in front of his home and begin to hum an old-time song, or he would begin to pray. When he did either of these things, it was my cue that he was tired and I should leave. The following is one of his short prayers.

2: Jones-Jackson L-5 (1973-1986) 1987
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Chapter 3

1. The prayers are often presented in a chanting style difficult for non-Gullah speakers to understand. Thus I gratefully acknowledge the aid of Mrs. Ida Morris-Hamilton of Wadmalaw Island for helping with transcriptions and translations.

2. See Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophy;* Harold Carter, *The Prayer Tradition of Black People* (Valley Forge, Pa.: Judson Press, 1976); William H. Pipes, *Say Amen Brother* (New York: William Federal Press, 1951); and Jones-Jackson, "Oral Tradition."

3. The prayers are normally accompanied by music. If no musical accompanist is available, the prayer giver and the congregation create their own musical accompaniment with handclaps, shuffles, and moans.

4. See Carter, *Prayer Tradition;* Pipes, *Say Amen Brother;* and Molefe Asante, *African and African-American Communication Continuities* (New York: Council of International Studies, State University of New York at Buffalo, 1975).

5. This prayer was delivered impromptu by Mr. James Brown, who is known for his ability to deliver stirring words with absolutely no prior preparation. I am grateful to him and Rev. Renty Pinckney for permitting me to record this prayer during church services. I am likewise grateful to Rev. Chester R. Jones for his comments on my analysis of the prayer. I owe special thanks to Rev. Alfred Owens of Greater Mt. Calvary Holy Church, Washington, D.C., for his invaluable assistance in providing references for the many biblical allusions in the prayer. All references are to the King James Version.

6. Ps. 51, David's cry for repentance and mercy, may have been a model for this passage.

7. Matt. 8:20; Luke 9:58.

8. Rom. 6:12, 8:11; 1 Cor. 15:53–54; John 15:1.

9. Matt. 4:3; 1 Thess. 3:5.

10. John 1:32.

11. Phil. 3:13.

12. Ps. 1:14.

13. John 12:2, 25:4.

14. 2 Cor. 7:5.

15. The speaker adapts his prayer to fit the occasion by including the purpose for which he is offering his prayer in strategic places. Many of the following passages are based on the Sermon on the Mount and the Beatitudes; the speaker brings them into his prayer as responses (e.g., "Want my spirit meek and mild").

16. The minister is often considered the assembler and leader of the community as well as of the church. Thus, like Moses, he is viewed as a deliverer of the people, one chosen by God to be the inheritor of the silver trumpet. See Num. 10:1–10.

17. This is a rural expression of the idea from Matt. 7:24–29 that whosoever builds his house on solid rock shall not be moved by the storms of life.

18. Jerusalem is not only the holy biblical city but, literally, the name of the AME church in which this prayer was delivered.

2: Jones-Jackson L-5 (1973-1986) 1987
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10. The African derivations of these words are from Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect*.

11. For a critical appraisal of Turner's methodology see P. E. H. Hair, "Sierra Leone Items in the Gullah Dialect of American English," *African Language Review* 4 (1965): 79–84.

12. DeCamp, Foreword to Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect*, pp. vii–viii.

13. For a detailed discussion of the processes involved in language contact see Talmy Givón, "Prolegomena to Any Creology" (Department of Linguistics, University of California, Los Angeles, Mimeo, 1973).

14. According to Wolfram (personal communication), the "matrix of cruciality" refers to linguistic features that are important to control in situations where one would be expected to use a form of standard English.

15. For a fuller syntactical analysis of Gullah than follows here, see Cunningham, "Syntactic Analysis." See Jones-Jackson, "The Status of Gullah," for a full representation of creole features in context.

16. See Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect*, p. 225.

17. See Dietrich Westerman and M. A. Bryan, *The Languages of West Africa* London: Oxford University Press, 1952).

18. Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect*, p. 211.

19. See Nichols, "Linguistic Change in Gullah," for a detailed discussion and historical analysis of the complementizer *for*.

20. J. L. Dillard, *Black English* (New York: Random House, 1972).

Appendix 1

1. Jackson, Slaughter, and Blake, "The Sea Islands as a Cultural Resource."

Appendix 3

1. For a full discussion of the phonemes in Gullah, see Jones-Jackson, "The Status of Gullah," and Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect*.

Appendix 4

1. All quotations in this appendix are from the film documentary *When Roots Die*, produced by me in conjunction with WHMM TV at Howard University and the South Carolina ETV network. I owe special thanks to Charles Sessoms, who helped to write and who directed the film. Likewise, I am indebted to Henry Cauthens, director of the South Carolina ETV network, for providing a crew (Patrice Abrams, Jimmy Dinkins, and Joe Bowie) to undertake the filming in South Carolina; and to Edward Hawthorne, dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, and Arnold Wallace, general manager of WHMM TV, Howard University, for providing the funds.

2. Robert Browne, founder of the National Emergency Land Fund and research scholar for the Black Economic Research Center (personal communication).

[p. 178 is blank]

4: Carawan & Carawan B,Z-5 (1959-1988) 1989
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South Carolina
Johns Island

INTRODUCTION

IT HAS BEEN more than twenty years since *Ain't You Got a Right to the Tree of Life?* was first published—twenty-three years since the material was recorded and the original photographs were taken. In some ways the world pictured in those photographs no longer exists. When you visit the island now, you are immediately aware of change. There are many more houses and signs of prosperity. Most of the older, weathered, wooden homes are gone, replaced by brick or newer wood ones. The two main roads are heavily traveled now, primarily by people on their way to the two resort communities adjacent to Johns Island—Kiawah and Seabrook. On the major crossroads there are small shopping centers and in the summer months produce stands to market vegetables to resort-goers.

In the early 1960s the islanders were hard-pressed people—maids, cooks, farmhands, and laborers. The level of education for most was quite low and yet we found an insight and wisdom about life, and particularly a richness of folk expression, that was inspirational. Before Guy came to Johns Island, he had traveled and worked in many parts of the South. A musician with training in folklore, he had a keen appreciation for the depth and variety of southern folk culture. On Johns Island he found something special, a world with a beautiful and flourishing cultural heritage unlike any he had encountered before. He felt it should be shared with many more people and nurtured in a way that would enable it to survive. Yet Johns Island was in the midst of cultural and social transition. How could he, as a visitor, make a contribution to its survival? We would spend the two years we lived on Johns Island in 1963–65 struggling with that question and trying a variety of projects designed to focus attention on the cultural richness of the

(P. xi-A)

121 views.) In newly independent states and nations and in a pluralistic society like that of the United States, such action-oriented field work may now be the only feasible kind, as previously dominant groups interact with those now assuming control over their own institutions and directions for the first time. The telling factor, of course, in choosing such an orientation for linguistic field work should be the kinds of insights into the nature and uses of language gained by this approach.

3.2 Functions of the Field Worker Within the Community

123 872 Because the river island which was the focus of my study was largely inaccessible to outsiders, I initially obtained a job as a volunteer teacher's aide in the elementary school on the mainland which island children attended. For several mornings a week I assisted a white female teacher in the upper grades, who taught more than one hundred pupils, the majority of whom were black, in both science and social studies classes each day. During the course of a morning, I came in contact with one to three island children in each class, and encountered a broad spectrum of language characteristic of rural Georgetown County. As much time as possible was spent initially in listening to the children, recording certain grammatical constructions on paper as they were heard and noting the speaker and the circumstances. Switching from creole features to more standard usage was noted,

(126)

5: Nichols L-5 (no date) 1989
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Georgetown

123 my stay brought contacts with an age group which ranged from junior high school students to young adults in their thirties. More importantly, it gave me a reason for being on the island which was accepted by the community, and which brought many hours of cherished conversation in homes as I shared meals and stayed overnight when I taught. It also gave me unexpected data on sex and age differences in use of the written code, as I taught a modified version of the freshman composition class I had taught for several years at junior colleges in California.

3.3 Collection of Data

• 126 124 Recording sessions on the river island were conducted in individual homes, using a Sony cassette recorder, model TC-92. Two initial recordings were made of older men describing the rice-planting process, using a hand-held microphone. The resulting data were clearly formal register and have been treated as such in the analyses. Subsequent recordings were made using a small clip-on microphone, Sony ECM-16, and produced more natural conversation. Topics ranged from descriptions of living conditions and activities on the island before the coming of electricity and motorized boat transportation, to discussions with teen-agers of whether or not they might remain on the island as adults. The common thread which ran through all the recorded conversations was the distinctive island life. While no formal

126 questionnaire was used, efforts were made to establish
124 whether or not the person had lived off the island for any considerable length of time, since it became apparent that mobility was a factor influencing language change. The approximate age of the speaker was usually revealed in the course of the conversation. From a total of sixteen recorded adult conversations on the river island, twelve have been selected for the comparative analysis of language change and social factors in the final chapter. These twelve were chosen to include two men and two women from three natural age groups, determined from my observations of interaction in the community. Older adults over sixty-five no longer worked outside the home regularly and remained on the island most of the time. Middle age adults, who had growing families, commuted off the island daily to jobs on the mainland. Young adults, most of whom were not yet married, engaged in frequent school and social activities with each other. All
[123] recordings used in the analyses include the researcher as participant, as well as whatever family members happened to be present. All were made with the knowledge and consent of the principal speakers.

Originally, the project had been conceived of as including a comparative analysis of individual speakers' language use with an outsider and with an in-group member.
[123] It was not possible to record natural conversations between island residents without the participation of an outsider,

126 but such a range of language use would be highly desirable
124 for inclusion in any comprehensive analysis of language
(123) change.[2] Observations of such conversations were made, and some anecdotal information will be included as a supplement to the recorded data. The one recording made without the
114 researcher as a participant is an example of highly formal
126 register; the circumstances of this recording were that an elementary school child took home a recorder at my request and asked her grandmother to record memories of her youth on the island. In effect, the recorder itself acted as a participant, and was the recipient of a carefully rehearsed speech.

In addition to recordings of conversations with
126 island residents, conversations with selected mainland resi-
124 dents were also recorded. From observations made of language used by school children and by some mainland residents encountered at various community activities, it had become apparent that the lower socio-economic group on the mainland retained more creole features in their speech than did island residents. For comparative purposes, therefore, four conversations made with speakers from this sub-group of this black

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[2]Denison (1969, 1971) provides a description of the range of language used by a particular community, in his study of a plurilingual community in the Carnian Alps. His analysis was based on observations made during extended vacations in the community, not recorded electronically, and serves as a model for the allocation of language resources which a given community might show.

•126 population in rural Georgetown County are included in the
124 analyses of linguistic variables and in the comparison of social factors influencing linguistic change. These four recordings include two men and two women in the oldest age group.

Some recordings were also made of a wide range of children in the school setting. Most of these are relatively short stories told by the children or ritual insults exchanged by them at the very beginning or end of a recording session. Because the environmental setting and the kind of speech event differed from that of the adult recordings, these language samples cannot be directly compared with those obtained for adults. A summary of their characteristics will be included in the discussion of the sex, age, and mobility factors which affect language choices. All island children in grades three through six were recorded telling an anecdote or ghost story of their choice; the grammatical features used in these stories can be usefully compared from child to
126 child. These classroom recordings were made as a natural part of my activities as a teacher's aide. Since part of my
[123] classroom duties had entailed helping a small group of non-readers in sessions in which we had recorded the children's own stories for use in reading, working with small groups of children using the tape recorder was an ordinary classroom activity. The typed versions of stories told by the children were sometimes read to the class by the students themselves,

5: Nichols L-5 (no date) 1989
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126 and the taping sessions became a popular way of sharing personal experiences with their classmates. This activity provided unexpected insights into the children's uses of and attitudes toward language. When reading back versions of their own stories which I had typed in standard orthography but which preserved the children's own syntactic patterns as closely as possible, the children habitually "corrected" their original grammar in the direction of more standard usage. This exercise provided strong evidence that the reading activity in the children's minds was associated with the use of standard English. Further evidence for such an association came from my work with a small group of mainland non-readers, all of whom used many creole features in their speech both inside and outside the classroom. Hearing from 125 several teachers that the problem of non-reading boys was widespread, I conducted an informal survey of county elementary schools with the cooperation of the county school administration. This survey indicated that black males who were not able to read at the fifth grade level outnumbered both white males and black females at the same level by a ratio of four to one. Social factors associated with language use patterns for the two sexes are indicated as an underlying cause for this difference in school performance, and will be discussed in conjunction with the different patterns of linguistic change shown by adults in their community. My findings on the possible correlation between language use and

125 attitudes and the children's school performance were made available to school officials in a final report to the Georgetown County Board of Education at the conclusion of my field work. The recording sessions with children utilized 125 the same kinds of recording equipment described above, with • 126 the small clip-on microphone again proving most successful. Most sessions were conducted in a semi-private section of the school auditorium, with at least two and no more than five children present for each recording.

124 All of the data used for the present study come from connected free discourse, recorded in environments familiar to the speakers and using topics of interest to the participants. The experiences of seeing the sun rise through the trees that bordered the river island, feeling the bitter cold of an early morning boat ride across the water, shaking out the sand after a walk through the deeply rutted roads, watching the scrub oaks turn a brilliant red in fall, a dull brown in winter--these experiences which leave traces inside people were as important to an analysis of the language used in this community of coastal South Carolina as were the tracings on magnetic tape made of our conversations. These shared experiences with the people made possible the hours of language activity between us.

6: Smith I,Y-5 (no date) 1989
NN23 Sea Islanders NN23
South Carolina

123 researcher asked "want else need be sai?" and respondents
124 were allowed to complete their answers before the next question was asked.

RECORDING RESPONSE

124 A structured response sheet was used to record re-
•126 sponses. This sheet contained a listing of each question and the possible responses. When a response was one of the listed responses, the researcher merely checked that response. When responses were offered for which no previous categories existed, these responses were entered under the category "other" for that question.

At the end of each interviewing day the researcher added those responses in the other category to the list of possible responses. The final activity of the day was to tabulate the responses.

RESPONSE MEASUREMENT

124 Responses for question Number 3 were scaled on a five
125 point design. Twelve of the questions had pre-established response categories. Each question was followed by a list of from three to eight separate response categories. "Other" was the last response category of each question. Responses which did not fit into existing categories made up the other categorical responses (see questionnaire, Appendix A). A
A,[See Category 125, pp. 80-82--Analyst]

7: Jackson L-5 (1973-1976) 1989
NN23 Sea Islanders NN23
South Carolina

194 /z/ The voiced alveolar fricative is a reflex of English /z/: [hoz] 'house', [ɸziz] 'freeze'.

4.3. The Texts

128 539 The following texts are included in this study primarily to show the language in context. The selections offer a range of speech styles and topics which manifest many phonological, syntactical, and morphological constructions characteristic of Creole languages. The English version accompanying each transcription obscures many of the Creole patterns. Consequently, an attempt is made to present a word-for-word translation which corresponds with each line of phonetic script. This procedure is more [193] amenable for illustrating underlying Creole constituents such as the complementizer /fɔ/, the introductory verb /sie/, the future marker /gɔ/ and many constructions other than those specified in this study.

[194] The selected passages reveal specific segmental phonological phenomena such as vowel epenthesis, consonant reduction, assimilation, and various phones corresponding to, or substituted for English phones such as /ɸ/ and /w/; /ɸ/ and /f/; /t/ for initial /ð/ and /θ/; and /ɵ/ and /ʃ/ for /s/. No effort has been made to eliminate false starts, [126] deviant words, or stuttering. Occasionally, it has been extremely difficult to hear certain sequences because of

128 outside interferences in some tapes made with a group or
539 outside in open fields where birds and other natural noises
•126 interfered with the clarity of the recording. In such cases the notation (...) is used to indicate that a shorter passage, usually no more than a few words, has been deleted because of unintelligibility.

128 Terminal junctures and pauses have been indicated by a single bar: /

Creaky voice is indicated by a wavy underline: ~

English translations of the preverbal markers and the third person pronominal forms often misrepresent the Creole utterance. The following notations are used to symbolize these forms:

(3 ɗn)	third person	masculine	nominative
(3 ʔn)	"	feminine	"
(3 ɸn)	"	neuter	"
(3 ɗp)	"	masculine	possessive
(3 ʔp)	"	feminine	"
(3 ɗp)	"	masculine	objective
(3 ʔo)	"	feminine	"
(3 ɸo)	"	neuter	"

(PrC)	Present continuative	/dɔ/
(PAC)	Past "	/bɪnɔ/
(T)	Tense indicator	/bɪn/
(C)	Completive	/dɔŋ/
(E)	Existential	/dɔ/
(Eq)	Equative	/ɖɔ/
(L)	Locative	/dɔ/

7: Jackson L-5 (1973-1976) 1989
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South Carolina

APPENDIX

METHODOLOGY

126 The recordings reflect a variety of speech genres and styles. Samples were recorded around firesites, in vegetable fields, in 'juke' joints, on the backs of trucks, in private homes and at crab hunts. The social stratification (124) of speakers ranges from a prosperous businessman and landowner to a semi-recluse. The samples reflect formal religious oratory, reminiscences, involved story-telling (called 'lies' by the islanders) and heated verbal debates, 'dozen style'.

123 I was introduced to the Wadmalaw community by natives who were held in high esteem, and was welcomed to live among them and become involved with their daily work and play activities. On my third and last visit, I felt that I had been accepted not as a member to the community (to earn this kind of acceptance one must be born and raised on the island) but as a regularly visiting relative of SOME member of the community. The islanders were 123 cooperative and gave me invaluable assistance in locating 124 consultants who were elderly, long-term natives of the island with little formal education, and who could speak the rest form of Gullah. These requirements were not always reliable indices for descerning the true Creole

123 speaker. Many school-age children between the ages of 10
124 and 16 with formal education used Creole features as frequently as many of the elderly consultants.

124 The following preliminaries were made in preparation
125 for the study:

1. A list of features known to be Creole to keep me alert to Creole construction types.
2. An awareness of conversation topics most likely to have a high probability of eliciting natural responses.
3. A word list containing minimal pairs for the elicitation of vowels and consonants.

124 The word list was not included until my third and final visit to Wadmalaw Island. The list is long and the
126 elicitation is painfully slow and exacting. I soon learned that some of the words on the list were unfamiliar to the consultants, but I was given their equivalent word replacements. For example, Gullah speakers do not often say *bit, air, coffin,* or *cot.* Instead they use *bite, breeze, pinto* and *setee,* respectively. Each consultant who aided with the phonology survey was one that I had known and spent a substantial amount of time with over the three year period. Those who were able to read pronounced the words into my tape recorder and I transcribed them on the spot. Others who were unable to read because of failing eyesight or other factors were asked to pronounce the words using different techniques. For example, I often asked questions such as, 'What do you wear on your feet when you go

124 bogging?' The consultant would answer, 'Boots.' It often
126 took as long as a week to complete the word list for one consultant.

115 The Consultants

The consultants listed below were all born on Wadmalaw and had resided little or no time on shore.

1. Mrs. Aneatha Brisbane (Miss Myma) is a very gracious widow of seventy-four years. Her assistance in eliciting natural responses from others for word list and syntactic
[122] structures was invaluable. I resided with her and am indebted to her for data recorded in familiar environments.

2. Mr. Henry Gibbs is a ninety-six-year-old gentleman. He remains still very active, loquacious, and alert. His recollections of ex-slave conditions and uninhibited speech was a major contribution to this work.

3. Mr. Ozzie Rivers (Mr. Happi) is a deeply religious seventy-year-old gentleman. He contributed much to my understanding of the phonology of Gullah. His vast store of religious experiences were reminiscent of similar ones dating back to West Africa.

4. Mrs. Annie Brown (Miss Missi) is a lighthearted widow of seventy-six, who leads a very private and secluded existence. I am grateful that she agreed to assist me with

7: Jackson L-5 (1973-1976) 1989
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193 7. Some consultants who aided in the pronoun survey
115 participated in a very informal 'story-telling' contest
124 for which a prize was awarded to the one who told the most interesting tale. The stories were recorded and a frequency count was taken of third person singular pronouns as they occurred.

193 8. I consider /ɔm/ the most basilectal form for Gullah because, of the variants filling third person feminine objective slot, /ɔm/ is least like the form used in the acrolect. The /i/ form appeared in the objective slot infrequently, but it is not regarded as a performance error because it occurs in this position in Guyanese and Jamaican Creoles. It may be a stage in pronominal acquisition, but it may not be a stage that all speakers go through. *She* is considered mesolectal because it would seem to indicate that a speaker has acquired one acrolectal form to distinguish male from female.

193 9. Different intonation patterns were observed with
194 each tense. Unfortunately, I was not able to capture this
[126] on tape. The consultant assured me that all of the contexts were possible.

19 10. There were only six tokens of /i/ counted in this category. The form [hiɔsɛ̃] 'himself' occurs in the data to mark third person feminine possessive as well as third person masculine possessive. It was not included with the other forms because I perceived it to be used by

9: Parrish B-4,5 (ca.1916-1941) 1942
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•126

Unfortunately our system of notation is inadequate to interpret the Negro's traditional music. For this reason the writers who work in libraries and not in the field, and base their claim of preponderant white influence on book versions and on the singing of students in Negro schools, have the best of the argument. No matter how skillful a musician may be, he is hampered at the start because his interpretation is conditioned by his training and by the limitations imposed by our form of notation.[10] As for the singing of Negro students, it is a known fact that education and folk-music have never been compatible. Under such circumstances the advice given by Thomas P. Fenner in his preface to *Cabin and Plantation Songs*, written in 1873, is the best I know. He tells us "tones are frequently employed which we have no musical characters to represent. . . . It is of course impossible to explain them in words, and to those who wish to sing them, the best advice is that most useful in learning to pronounce a foreign language: *Study all the rules you please, then—go listen to a native.*" In addition to listening to a Negro, I would suggest writing down the words as sung—not as recited. With the best intention in the world the Negro

[10] N. G. J. Ballanta, in an explanation of his idea of the need of a seventeen-tone octave to correctly express African music, tells us why the Western scale is unfit for use in African melodic expression. He believes that "a different system of tuning should be adopted to satisfy the demands of African musical expression, as the values given to notes tuned to equal temperament of twelve divisions to the octave, however much they may be of advantage to the western musician for his system of harmony, do not at all agree with the values given to those same diatonic steps when sung by the African. The same thing is true of Negroes in the United States whose singing of their native songs has a better effect when unaccompanied by the piano than when accompanied. . . .

"Theoretically speaking, Western musicians agree that there are seventeen different sounds in the octave to be provided for; but, by the system known as 'Enharmony,' two sounds are represented by one key known as the sharp and flat to adjacent keys."

Mr. Ballanta goes on to say that "the Africans employ Septimal Harmony in a great majority of cases and there is no reason why they should be made to give way to the Western system of tertian harmony by employing the present tuning of the piano."

In an address made some years ago, Mr. Ballanta stated that "The æsthetic value of the Spirituals arises from the fact that they are conceived and sung in harmony. This fact has baffled many musicians, as the folksongs of other peoples are conceived in unison. The reason is that the Negro in singing, as his African brother, thinks not of a scale which is simply a succession of individual tones, and which forms the basis of the folksongs of other people, but of a chord where there are three distinct and individual tones sounding at the same time, and in combination producing a harmonious effect."

This interesting explanation agrees with what W. E. Ward tells us in "Music of the Gold Coast" concerning the African's amazing ability to carry on "five simultaneous rhythms, the melody and four percussion parts." On St. Simon's Island, three simultaneous rhythms are quite common—the melody, hand clapping, and tapping of the feet or heels on the floor.

9: Parrish B-4,5 (ca.1916-1941) 1942
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533 •126 never speaks the words of a song as he sings them.[11] To catch what is sung is difficult, but it is the only way that the tricky rhythm of a song can be learned. Any person who wishes to give an authentic presentation must be respectful of the older Negroes' disregard of our rules of spelling, pronunciation, and punctuation, and above all resist the temptation to use a formula. As the editors of *Slave Songs of the United States* say in their preface: "The remarks upon the dialect which follow have reference . . . almost exclusively to a few plantations at the northern end of St. Helena Island [South Carolina]. They will, no doubt, apply in a greater or less degree to the entire region of the southeasterly slave States, but not to other portions of the South. It should also be understood that the corruptions and peculiarities here described are not universal, even here. There are all grades, from the rudest field-hands to mechanics and house-servants, who speak with a considerable degree of correctness." These words apply perfectly to the types of dialect found on the Georgia coast, and explain the lack of consistency in the songs of this collection.

533 Few people realize that the slaves—like their African cousins—sang on every possible occasion. Religious ceremonies, as well as work and play, were all conducted to music. Naturally there were times when singing was a solo matter—as over the wash-tub—but the Negroes have always been gregarious (private life as we know it has never been popular among them), and it is no wonder their singing reflects this characteristic. In consequence it is particularly important to know how each of the two or three outstanding singers handles his contribution to the effect produced by the group. It seems to me that Creighton Churchill has succeeded admirably in conveying this idea—but as he frankly says, the whole problem is one of approximation. When it comes to reproducing peculiarities of African music and tones for which we have no symbols, we are out of luck. As Fenner indicates, the best we can do is to listen to an accredited singer.

Those who sing in the traditional manner never appear to take breath when

[11] Syllables are frequently divided arbitrarily to suit the rhythmic needs of a tune. Sometimes the last syllable of a word is attached to the one-syllable word that follows, and whole syllables are occasionally omitted. The slave disliked certain sounds in the English language. Th was difficult for him to pronounce, so was final g, and he dropped an r whenever it interfered with fluency. It is no wonder that a white man cannot compose an authentic slave song, for the transplanted African thought in the speech pattern of his native land, and employed his limited English in that fashion. We also disregarded genders as he did in Africa. On Hilton Head, South Carolina, the dialect of the Negroes sounds—at a little distance—like a foreign tongue because of its curiously different emphasis and intonation. Close at hand, however, the meaning becomes clear enough.

[194]

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mountain districts of America. In other lands a long evolutionary process of centuries shaped melodic idioms that sprang from the soil. In America a special thing happened, which neither scientist, anthropologist, nor music critic has ever explained. The phenomenon is not to be dismissed as either accidental or unimportant, but to be studied in all its bearings upon our progress.

This is a direction in which the author of the following pages is working with a modesty and unassuming conviction and purpose which need no praise. She is materially aided in her research by Mr. Churchill's transcribing of the songs. He has worked with a fidelity to the originals only conditioned by the limitations of our standardized scale and the inexactitude of our notation. The songs cannot be put down, exactly as they are sung, on paper. But these are the songs, as near as may be. They offer highly illuminative exposition of the various balances and amalgamations of racial elements of both African and American origin. Some of them are more than a little barbaric. In others the white influence is clear, if not predominant. In sum, these notations represent a fragment of a song literature that is unique among the expressions of mankind.

The rest is for the reader. The quality of this book, not that of a partisan, or reformer, or ex *cathedra* musicologist, is that of a seeker of the truth through the human contacts which lie at the basis of living art.

Olin Downes

New York City
February 16, 1942

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tural movement and its works of art which have had such profound influence upon the art of the West in the last thirty years, which produced the talking drums, and developed rhythm to a point "two centuries ahead of Europe." [8] It is also significant that the art critics who write concerning the primitive sculpture of Africa call attention to the manner in which the best examples conform to canons that are universal and, according to Louis Carré, apply with equal force to European classic art. It is clearly no matter of accident that the Negroes who composed the Afro-American slave songs came from the very section of Africa which has yielded the finest specimens of sculptural art. Nor can it be considered a coincidence that musicians trained in the tradition of the "three B's" should marvel at the extraordinary feeling for rhythm and musical form shown in the slave compositions—"built on a foundation as solid as that of Bach," as one of them remarked after hearing the Negro singers of St. Simon's.

There seems to be no answer to the question of where the race got its intuitive knowledge of music (which musicians admit is acquired by white students only after years of study) unless we accept the theory advanced by Gobineau, the celebrated French Orientalist, that "the source from which the arts have sprung is concealed in the blood of the blacks"—with the concomitant conclusion that Ham must have been the musically gifted member of Noah's family.

So much for an historical outline of a form of music that is said by Franklin Harris, the composer, to be as distinctive and individual as any in the world.[9] But what of its status today and its chance of survival?

Thirty years ago, when I first visited the coast of Georgia, I would have said it hadn't a ghost of a chance. But now, after seeing what persistence, plus a little money has accomplished, I am not so sure—although I am still certain that those with any interest whatsoever in this music must do more than they have in the past to keep it alive.

When I arrived on St. Simon's in 1912, the stillness of the Negroes was puzzling until questioning brought out the fact that the island was a summer resort, and contact with city whites and their black servants had had its numbing influence; that the old-time singing had gone out of style, and spirituals weren't sung any more. After three musically barren winters I discovered, however, that a few Negroes

[8] *In the words of W. E. Ward. For the complete quotation, see page 19.*
[9] *Call it "hybrid" if you will—but a name cannot alter its right to recognition.*

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123 remembered their old songs and could be induced to sing for me if I would make it
126 worth their while. This was in 1915, and, ever since, I have been doing just that:
533 making it worth their while. During the bleak winters of the depression, some of the singers literally sang for their supper—which, they thankfully observed, the Lord had provided. In 1929 it was found expedient to put a cabin at my "Corner," and ever since overflow audiences from the resort hotel at Sea Island have worn a path to its door.

868 All of which goes to prove that this exotic music need not be given up for lost
533 so long as a few singers live to teach the traditional technique (Illustration 13, A) to the younger generation—on whom its survival depends. Long ago the need of training the children seemed to me particularly urgent, and six groups in two counties were taught by older singers, until hard times put an end to the undertaking. In the last few years the value of such instruction has been proved in the help the young people have given their groups at the "sings" on St. Simon's. (Illustration 25, B.) Where death has thinned the ranks of the older singers, the younger ones have filled the gaps with distinction.

533 But genuine Negro music is confronted by a real menace in the scornful atti-
177 tude of those Negro school-teachers [10] who do their utmost to discredit and uproot
178 every trace of it. Instead of being inordinately proud of their race's contribution to the music of the world, as they have every right to be, too many of them treat it like a family skeleton. In the schoolroom, even in sections where spirituals may be said to be indigenous, they are suppressed, and the supposedly "more artistic" European-ized book versions are laboriously learned. This misplaced zeal even follows the pupils into the school yard. Such musically commonplace English game songs as "The Farmer Takes a Wife"—although I admit the action is picturesque—are substituted for such joyous Afro-American melodies as "Go roun' the Border, Susie" —for all the world like carrying synthetic coals to Newcastle! It must be remembered, however, that the teachers cannot be blamed for the harm they do the musical taste of their pupils: they only reflect the type of training imposed upon the race
177 since 1861. No one quarrels with any system of education that helps the Negro to
178 hold his own in a white man's country; but when a system is employed which causes him to despise everything African, and to throw away his birthright at a time when

[10] At Hampton Institute, when I protested at the way the old tunes were altered, a music instructor loftily informed me: "When they are wrong, of course they must be changed."

A. [For Illustration 13, see Category 114, plate facing p. 81--Analyst]
B. [For Illustration 25, see Category 533, plate facing p. 145--Analyst]

9: Parrish B-4,5 (ca.1916-1941) 1942
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OH EVE—WHERE IS ADAM?

533 (126) In taking down a shout song, you are beset with the difficulty of reconciling the different versions. No leader sings a song twice alike, and no two ever sing exactly the same version; yet the beat, the accent, and the tune remain so stable that leaders are unerringly followed. The words are in truth only the vehicle for carrying along the complicated rhythm. This is beaten out by the heels of the McIntosh County group in a way not approached by any other that I know. Shouters sometimes clap their hands; on St. Simon's they always call for a broom handle, which, when knocked on the floor, provides an extemporaneous tom-tom. In McIntosh County, however, they are so proficient in tapping out the rhythm with their heels that they can dispense with both sticks and hand clapping. With their hands free, they are able to do things descriptive of the text which less skillful groups would not be at liberty to attempt.

535 (539) The shout:

Oh Eve—where is Ad-u-m?
Oh Eve—Adam in the garden
Pickin' up leaves.

is a good example of the combination of dancing and pantomime. After swinging deliberately around the circle, singing the slower part of the chant, the dancers, when the time quickens, go through the motion of picking up leaves. With aprons gathered up and bodies bent, the women add greatly to the interest of the dance. All are amusingly industrious, but the men, without the assistance of aprons, are not quite so convincing in following the action indicated by the text.

533 535 Since the version I have encountered in Glynn and Camden Counties holds to "pinnin' le:ves," I am inclined to believe that some McIntosh shouter took an artist's license and substituted "pickin' up" for "pinnin' " for the sake of more varied, more picturesque action. At any rate, the de'ightful result justifies the less usual interpretation of the Biblical text.

With "Lord called Adam—pinnin' leaves," the movement is faster. The feet are not supposed to leave the floor or to cross each other, such an act being sinful. The shouting proceeds with a curious shuffling but controlled step which taps out with the heel a resonant syncopation fascinating in its intricacy and precision. Over

9: Parrish B-4,5 (ca.1916-1941) 1942
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THE BELL DONE RING

533 171 In a collection of *African Music* recorded by Laura C. Boulton a war song [10] is given from the Tuareg tribe of the French Sudan, near Timbuctoo, which is strikingly similar to a sermon song of Henry Shaw's, even to the peculiar reedy quality of tone.[11] The Tuareg singer recites the brave deeds of a chief; Henry recounts the adventures of Jonah.

533 126 It has been practically impossible to take down Henry's song as he sings it. When he recites it, he gives an entirely different version. If I ask the meaning of a line, he has to begin all over again—and we never get very far.

533 539 Chorus: Live humble, humble, humble your soul
The bell done ring.
Live humble little chil'run
The bell done ring.
Live humble little soul
The bell done ring.
Live humble I say
The bell done ring.

"Live humble" is sung three more times with the response, "The bell done ring," following each line, and the chorus ends with its first four lines. The gist of the narrative section follows the story of Jonah's tribulations quite literally.

[10] *Vol. I*, record 86-A.

[11] *Our coastal Negroes appear to be musically more closely allied to the Tuaregs than to any other African tribe of whose songs I have been able to secure records. Record 86-B of the same series gives a lullaby sung by a Tuareg woman which—except for the difference in language—might be sung by a grandmother anywhere along this coast. If we knew the period in which certain groups of slaves came to America, and the section of Africa from which they were obtained, we might learn more about their musical background. Two records made by the Denis-Roosevelt expedition in the Belgian Congo indicate that the slaves of South Carolina and Georgia might have come from that region, since their ring-shouts show a similarity to Nos. 6 and 10 in tone, rhythm, and hand clapping. The "sharp exhalation of breath" heard in No. 10 is also demonstrated by some of our ex-slaves, but they do no "stomping," although on two or three occasions I have seen Negroes from the interior do it.*

9: Parrish B-4,5 (ca.1916-1941) 1942
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in her *Journal*, gave several illustrations which show how anything was grist for the Negroes' song-mill. With the rivers affording the only means of travel, it was natural that she should hear rowing songs of all kinds; and on one occasion she had the unique privilege of hearing her own praises extemporaneously chanted by her two Negro boatmen. They described her personal attractions, and amused her intensely by their repeated references to her "wire waist."[4]

Today the Negroes are less inventive, and generally confine themselves to a substitution of names or familiar lines in the old songs, but we can still hear examples of the way they utilized incidents or phrases that struck their fancy. If a captain said: "It's rough going 'round the Horn," the Negroes made up a song about the statement, and we had: "Go 'round the Horn, Yalla gal, Go 'round the Horn!" "Ragged Leevy," a waterfront character of Brunswick, was described in the shanty that bears his name. "Little Johnny Brown, fines' cap'n on Doboy Sound," was so popular among the stevedores that he figured in one of their jolliest shanties; and "Yonder come that *Hessie*" always brings a regretful feeling to those of us who remember the "good old days" on St. Simon's when the *Hessie* was our means of communication with the outside world, and the captain obligingly did our errands.

In our machine age it is inevitable that these work-songs should pass. Before they have entirely disappeared, records should be made of the few examples that have survived.

SHANTIES

If anyone needs more information about the use of these shanties, I suggest that he apply to either Joe Armstrong or Henry Merchant of St. Simon's Island. Both were at one time leaders of stevedore crews, and both have told me the uses to which the different songs were put. Since I am a land-lubber and more interested in music than in the mechanics of loading lumber and stowing cotton, details concerning the latter have not stuck, while the tunes have—to the last note. Any mistake in describing their application is mine, not Joe's or Henry's.

In the early days of the lumber industry, great rafts of logs were nailed together, and—with two or three men in charge—were drifted down the Altamaha to the mills at its mouth.[5] Ships from everywhere came for the sawed lumber. Julia once

[4] *African explorers with more knowledge of the native dialect than their boatmen realized were often entertained in the same manner, but their defects—not their charms—were derisively enumerated.*

[5] *Fanny Kemble mentions in her Journal that on one of her boat-trips from Darien she saw "The river . . . covered with Ocone [river] boxes." She describes them as monstrous square*

10: Johnson S-4,5 (no date) 1930
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example, which are often attributed to climate or lassitude or to the influence of the Negro, are merely the continuation of the speech patterns of the English who settled the South Atlantic coast.[8] The Negro took over the English of the whites with whom he was associated, and he did it remarkably well. White speech has undergone some degree of change, moving a little nearer, perhaps, toward a standard American English, but, because of cultural isolation, the Negro lags behind, thus conserving the white man's linguistic past.

SOME EXAMPLES OF THE DIALECT

There is considerable variation to be found in the printed records of Gullah dialect. Part of this is due to the local and individual variations in phonology and part is due to the personal element of the recorder. The

with the plain people, who go on talking as they did in Shakespeare's day. There were several dialect areas, the major areas being the Scotch or Northern, the Midland, the Eastern, the Southern, and the Southwestern. Coastal New England, Virginia, and South Carolina were settled largely from southern, southeastern, and southwestern England. More than a hundred years later the northern English and Scotch-Irish poured into America, dominating the pronunciation of the North and West, but not modifying greatly the speech of the oldest section of New England. The Scotch-Irish came into the South from the Middle States via the Shenandoah Valley, settling the piedmont and mountain regions. Spoken English in the latter sections is now a blend of the Scotch-Irish type with the southern English type which pushed westward from the Atlantic coast settlements in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. For a suggestive article setting forth a similar point of view, see Hans Kurath, "The Origins of the Dialectal Differences in Spoken American English." *Modern Philology*, May, 1928.

[8] Take the Southern *r* for example. The Negro had nothing to do with our losing it. References to the distinction between the rough or Scotch *r* and the smooth or southern English *r* occurred in the grammars and dictionaries of three hundred years ago. Evidence drawn from rhyming words and from plays written in dialect shows that the *r* of lower England was the same as our Southern *r*. A later reference in the third edition (1823) of Walker's *Critical Pronouncing Dictionary and Expositor of the English Language* is interesting: "In England, and particularly in London, the *r* in *lard, bard, card, regard*, etc., is pronounced so much in the throat as to be little more than the middle or Italian *a*, lengthened into *laad, baad, caad, regaad*." (Quoted by Kurath, *Modern Philology*, May, 1928.)

10: Johnson S-4,5 (no date) 1930
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194 •126 speaker of unadulterated Gullah gives a mouth-full-of-mush effect, rolling out his short-clipped words with a rapidity which is amazing to those who think that all Negroes drawl. An accurate recording of this pure type is very difficult, and, when done, gives a peculiar result indeed. Jones, Gonzales, Whaley, and a few others have [114] succeeded very well in reducing it to writing. Their results are quite different from those of Mrs. Christensen and Mrs. Parsons, in part because the latter collected their stories from people who spoke a modified Gullah.[9]

Two persons rarely hear the same sounds exactly alike. If they do, they will probably represent them differently in writing. Some dialect writers, having achieved the "accurate recording" state of mind, carry the thing to the extreme and spell phonetically many words which are pronounced in the standard way by Negroes and white people. For example, a writer who would spell his own pronunciations of *little*, *victual*, *about*, in the standard way, is sometimes guilty of representing Negro speech as *littul* or *lit'l*, *vittle* or *vittul*, and *uhbout* when the Negro and the standard pronunciations are alike.

539 [19] The following specimens will not only serve to introduce the reader to the phonology, grammar, and idiom of the dialect, but will give him some idea of the variations due to locality and to the method of recording.

I[10]

Buh Lion bin a hunt, an eh' spy Buh Goat duh leddown' topper er big rock duh wuk eh mout an der chaw. Eh creep up fuh

[576] [9] Like everyone else, these Negroes have "company manners." When talking to a stranger, especially to a white man, they tend to tone down their speech so that it is more easily understood than is their ordinary conversation with one another.

[113] [10] From Jones, *Negro Myths from the Georgia Coast*, p. 38. Explanatory notes are printed below each of the excerpts which follow.